1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

T 197 [648] [466] [177]
T [562] [647]

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

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## ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

Tm 621 632 634

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

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Tm 666

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

F 648 666
Tm 178 666 [634]

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

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551 together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they
361 are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the
618 Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several
614 separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in
361 adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came
[342] into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

342 The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind
[592] of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

342 Other families tend to build new houses near the original family
621 house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

621 However, relationships between village families cross kinship and
575 even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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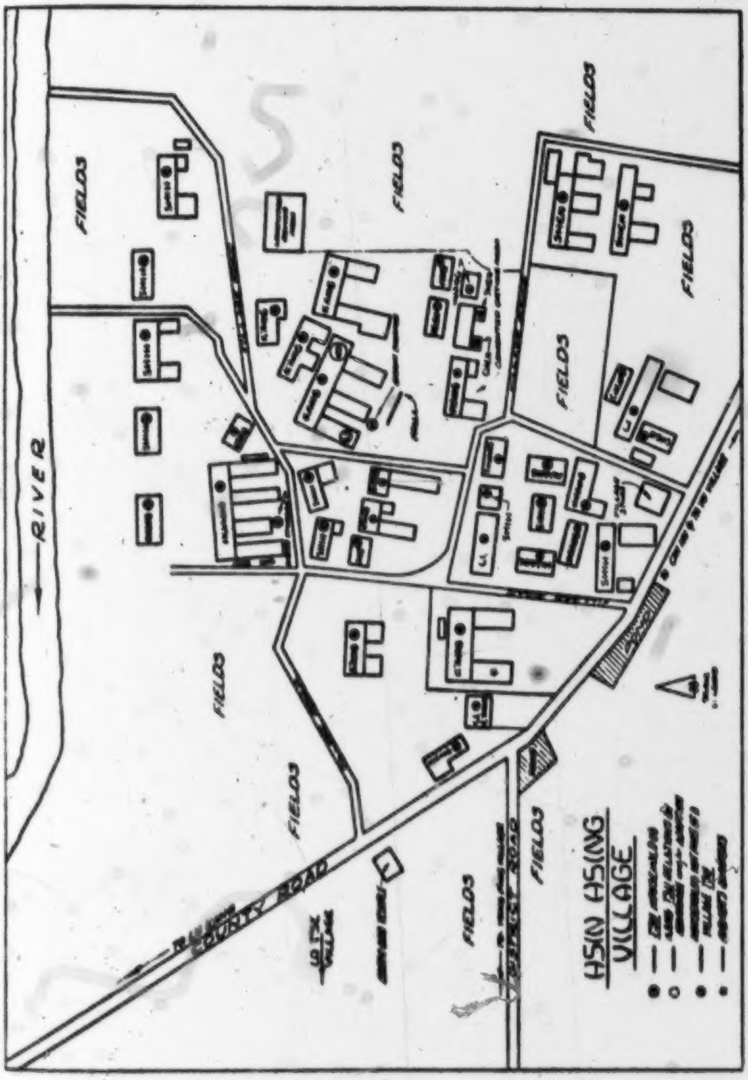
RIVER
FIELDS
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COUNTY ROAD
DISTRICT ROAD
HSIN HSING
VILLAGE

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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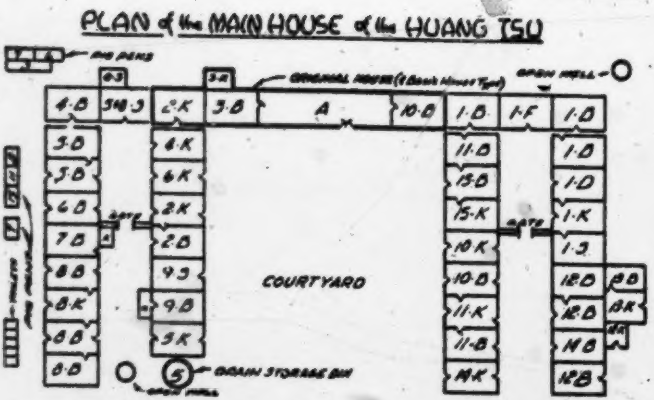
PLAN of the MAIN HOUSE of the HUANG TSU
PIG PENS
ORIGINAL HOUSE
OPEN WELL
A
COURTYARD
GATE
GATE
GRAIN STORAGE BIN
OPEN WELL

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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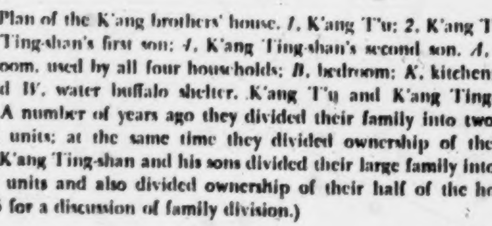
PLAN of K'ANG BROTHERS' HOUSE
TOILET
ORIGINAL HOUSE
PIG PENS
A
GRAIN STORAGE BIN

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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575 Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

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The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6

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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

## LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

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Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[1] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

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Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 15) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership [554]
in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked [618]
hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of
mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing
village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. T
In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a [182)
state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, espe-
cially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of
just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being T
one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords Tn
still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may 178
mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of 423
the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in 556
a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distri- 565
bution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure 622
system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to
withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading
to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in
turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been T
capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the land- Tn
lord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first 178
time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leader- 571
ship abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away 554
before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition 829
to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete 622
equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in
the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they
have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and
power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation
of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully ap- T
parent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in Tn
the last chapter in the problems of community organization and co- 621
operation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the 182

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

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## EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

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In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

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Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

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There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help 178
out in the field when the men are in the village working the land,
their main concern is still running the households and tending the
livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on
added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to
plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the
man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange
for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must
make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's
counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal
of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irriga-
tion water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her [592]
relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for
their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended [855]
family households where there is more than a single adult couple in
the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume 857
tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more 178
work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to
take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are
kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may 167
prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added
responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to 593
Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the
outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if
her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small
business, in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to
live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so
well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation
in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to 167
Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small commu- 62
nity of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing 369
village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more
than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing.
Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but (796)
now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby
villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious
ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general 167
weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back 593
only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more 596
usual for families who have made a success of a small business in 369

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

618 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which
423 could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to
administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend
to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional
unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76)
618 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled
423 by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results
578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note)
171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant
*tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally
474 not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the
economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the
different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and
other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences
between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative
ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to
non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done
effectively.

618 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships
857 from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships
through age groups of children and young people are quite
572 common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are
composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily
live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition,
however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but
not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin
children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be
schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood
become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or
early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five
to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner.
In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other,
cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other
in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of
a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together
to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary
villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part
crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed,
[618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into
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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unre- 571
lated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The 621
frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a
common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops,
common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership
in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then,
villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow [628]
villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to
establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over
long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these
relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases
alone.

## VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

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What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many 621
occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity 796
does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain 585
religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village mar- 764
riage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7
and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the 621
rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or 476
household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general
insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress
aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural
cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings
to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any
village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert 621
themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. 476
If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* 622
group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

621 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at
476 best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act
622 together.

An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can
621 usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not
476 from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller
571 kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the
larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with
618 problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestion-
[829] ably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

628 This is why new relationships made outside the village through
612 marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The
villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means out- 612
side the village.

## INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social or- 171
ganization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of 602
matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized 171
interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship 618
group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the 602
confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra- 621
*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:[redacted] has noted the exten- 171
sion of the relationships of members of a lineage group through mar- 582
riage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he
writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social con- 628
tact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for politi-
cal and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage [618]
organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

### *Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing*

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers 628
with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and 612
would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing 582
has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

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If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

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The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

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As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

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*Ch'in ch'i* relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

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Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

628 invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one
612 is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's
796 *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* fur-
574 nishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In
[621] any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most
important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a
574 son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a
612 wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the
604 groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The
[171] importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as
other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a
574 visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller
593 and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a
[606] large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take
[612] turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to
593 her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time
612 talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female
relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occa-
612 sions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they
574 happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no oppor-
tunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town. 694

[625] [559]

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

159 628 621 [622]

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who [474] [554] not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

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Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

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Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

159 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when
612 they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active
part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate
628 actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have
• 621 been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give
only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a
628 complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the
62 matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for
example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and
[618] also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's
[612] behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the
matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the
[692] courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

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When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

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As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i.* Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing,* and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[596] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the 178
same time forces the economic family to move further away from the 571
village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process 621
further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the 628
*tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive 596
sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the 178
villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the 621
family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village 553
which customarily give their children a single character for the given
name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation.
For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of
convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her 854
first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing 431
are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time
that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the 853
mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the
child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or
ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given
additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed 854
occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu,* or even a close neighbor if the 596
mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally 621
speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint
family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close [618]
friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one [853]
mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However,
in some small families where there are no other women or young
girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to
carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children 862
are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances
where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red
pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does
not seem to be necessary very often.

## CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the 863
villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for
this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the
sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of
him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is
replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However,
toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old,
walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this
time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to
perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a
lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet
training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and
that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the 000

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

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It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

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A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce 873
themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, 178
they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village
traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They 571
have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are un- 621
worthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial 874
and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered 474
by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private
schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free.
The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques
for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for 874
training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

## ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[8] an elaborate religious festival 881
marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor.
This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in [782]
asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his
family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so.
If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, [776]
especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy [782]
to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help.
When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to [793]
the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

*hsiang* Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.) 764 [656]

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor. 764 20 [618] [612] [596]

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails. 764 596 618 481 [626]

### *Preparation for the Funeral and Burial*

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50). 764 793 [533] [465]

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hsin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her. 764 771 [776]

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father- 764 575 [621]

764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of 776
the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied 778
the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the 422
Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public [432]
money" collected for religious purposes. [794]

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods
whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have
private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important
in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently
sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The
other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins
are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland
with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the 776
origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years 778
he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not 781
make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a 782
wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed 422
him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing
for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in
the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years
since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy
man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has 621
taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang
family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship 776
Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of 778
illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution 782
of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family 554
receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families 422
which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense
of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help
whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the
many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang
family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large,
sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family
as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards 621
the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. 578
The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which
owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The 776
Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy 778
by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many 554
criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two 422

621 families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a
578 serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two
776 families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any
776 *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these
778 gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to
554 establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er
422 Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to
have actually achieved this goal.

### *Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs*

776 In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil
supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of
fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers
[775] more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned
Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a
[753] bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the
[761] supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result.
[777] It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner
[756] to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

### *Fate and Divination*

777 Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an
787 all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

756 463 776 makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

756 554 621 The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hsin Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

756 Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. 756 787 In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

756 [776] The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the 796
Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been 776
working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai,* and even 621
some of the members of village families whose business or work has 484
required them to move to the city return for this day and stay over-
night or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for
this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive
of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the 796
courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is 776
present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to 621
eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are 574
invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or [756]
even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and
friends. At the time of the *pai-pai,* the villagers even invite their [789]
neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food.
People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are
ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another
villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their
homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven [123]
different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so [261]
much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more,
and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained
that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village fam-
ily, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she
had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed
overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700
(US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for
months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin 796
Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of 776
their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai,* therefore, functions 574
to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable 628
families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these [182]
*pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a [612]
continuing source of entertainment. [571]

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact
with different people but also a puppet show performed by a profes- [545]
sional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories
from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and
their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually
wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The [443]
carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of
vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from
Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

796 794 621 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 776 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his [782] [574] temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

796 *t'ing* with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices.
769 Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others
go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the
last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each
796 family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to
[782] ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does
[574] not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their
hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the
[464] one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in
the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

796

### *Noncyclic Rites*

182 Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

796 Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or
when young men are being sent off for military service. While both
621 situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the
755 entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its
702 prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endan-
gered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the
182 villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on
which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family
(no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be
unwilling to participate.

796 Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of
776 intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from
some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The
787 villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speak-
[182] ing through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day
of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to
welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make 755
him release the victim's spirit and then leave. 756

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* 755
nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may 782
conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than
medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and 621
shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers 761
then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." 777
While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

### *A Case in Point*

159

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in
which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao* 158
*t'ung* and *fa shih,* and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in 755
order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year- [114]
old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the
family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a [759]
Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat
her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in [756]
and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a
reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put
a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these [754]
intermittent attacks.[4]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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158 The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it
159 was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the
755 techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a
series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of
[756] the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed
and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon.
[782] Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a
*pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

### *Other Forms of Magical Activities*

731 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activi-
• 621 ties frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a
787 village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to
789 rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually be-
lieved to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao*
756 *t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and 731
pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of 621
the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers 789
who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being 787
trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded.
Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his 756
leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore
bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about
them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a [521]
common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider
them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The
magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly
recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in
the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, 789
one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a 756
trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers 787
note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers
claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related
a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a
trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved
into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the
*t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was
drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully
by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a
possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without
seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial
called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by
any particular village, though within the immediate area each year
there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed
by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this
ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day,
most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river,
which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into
a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into
the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his
forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water,
allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is 789
possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the 756
water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, 787
the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they 778
have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its 823

755 shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient
154 could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing
about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar
to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in
either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the
treatment.

796 A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of
ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment"
755 value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to
789 witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They
182 almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event.
Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm
[787] and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by
merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding
villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the
course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for
[621] an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—
feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an
[521] interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus,
although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the
ritual act often serves to fill its place.

771 Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it
178 does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural.
While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without
reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty.
Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as
powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably
fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in
the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by
the present government through the school system.) In addition, the
villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a
god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from
experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper
this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would
not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the
family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for
days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their
continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt
to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the
unknown.

755 Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman
177 in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has
178 reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as
622 well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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755

them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's 177
consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without 178
the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention. 626

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving 755
any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance 757
of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus
forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise 177
forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have 178
failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did 181
not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication
that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a
Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval
is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western
medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of
unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness [753]
is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of
demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed 755
are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look
forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least 796
they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are 182
occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly
true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the
scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in
Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the
village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for
something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize 796
the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an 262
opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless
wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary 626
days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and 183
general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow
money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their
extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus,
even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth,
and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for
eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by 796
the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions 476
that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about 182
them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai* [621] ●

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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182

796 there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu*
476 lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai,* and to a
62 lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of
cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in
[593 the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units,
596 which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independ-
618] ence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village
acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

182 These *pai-pai,* as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the
796 extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself.
628 Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-
574 birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only
chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

796 Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a
795 large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate
184 *pai-pai.* Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians
574 realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive
626 return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they
also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community presures.

78 Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in
771 general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes
177 we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic se-
178 curity, higher standards of living and health, improved communica-
796 tions, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of
religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been
[369 supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of
769] curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New
Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

78
creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have 777
affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it 177
necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions. 178

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical 776
practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to 369
some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and [769]
some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of 78
ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are natu- 829
rally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a 78
framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic 769
and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of 182
some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some 78
changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of 182
maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integra- 621
tive ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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# *Hsin Hsing, Village in Change*

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Formosa AD1

ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* F 175
organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member 369
families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common 621
kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages 618
like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found
their security in complete identity with the village, which made it
possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security
against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century F
saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an 175
increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an ex- 177
panded and efficient system of communications and public health and 648
sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure [744]
life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even [20]
more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist [161]
Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particu- [621]
larly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to [628]
loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate
control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the T
numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into 178
*tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group 618
became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence
within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former 621
imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing [628]
began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu*
organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly
necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the
weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an T
already developing problem of land scarcity became even more ex- 178
treme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing 16
numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work
to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration 423
has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond 369
the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chap- 433
ters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and 464
involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially
true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the
changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting
from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is
now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, T
there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by [177]
the outside world.

621 177 178 618 As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

621 177 178 [59] [618] The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

[128] The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

59 178 Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to [171] the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly [171]
has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of
family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal [161]
units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land
base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased eco- [167]
nomic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and gener- [423]
ally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have
greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed [562]
marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which [582]
tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the [606]
authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the gov- 59
ernment on the local area has created forces which further family 65
division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all 178
noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to [702]
divide. While it is true that family division has not increased signifi-
cantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance [423]
already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for inde- 59
pendence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, how- 178
ever, imply an analogous call for independence from their more 171
loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This 618
has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic 621
need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders, 628
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621 since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large
628 enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As
609 I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the
178 most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing
villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis
of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

621 Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations,"
activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross
571 kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on mem-
575 bership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station associa-
474 tion, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable market-
ing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother
618 age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But
[178] he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

178 Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly diffi-
476 cult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is
even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow
621 villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other
628 villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the
villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid
612 and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a wan-
571 ing loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a
continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis 472
of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends. 821 •
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The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connec- 612
tions stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify 571
matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties out-
side the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The
intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases sur-
passes those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, how- [618]
ever, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrela- 178
tives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* rela- 582
tionships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit 621
the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no
longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships 628
within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn 612
extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing 571
socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already height-
ened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' 177
traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the 178
impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, 423
has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land [621]
reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected [618]
the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be
achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we [554]
find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of
their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure 178
to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members 423
of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively 618
small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village 621
area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the 171
village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, 178
whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the 423
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178 native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better eco-
423 nomic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it
432 is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms
823 of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the
wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area.
Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of
the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral
land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land
reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commer-
cial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family estab-
[167] lishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it
apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "sym-
114 bolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if
171 economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent
rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different
167 from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp
(1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75),
where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary
measure.

178 Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to
464 reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because
they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is
433 little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area,
434 some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish
369 some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager
[241] income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash
crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred
despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently,
[656] places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other
than rice as their main crop.

369 Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of
178 a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city
181 life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily
because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not
177 remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a
621 reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is
241 most active in the community. They bring about internal economic
and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve
423 agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with govern-
ment and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the
surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger
group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their
diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in 178
the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not 423
for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell 823
off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the 178
lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them 871
means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although 511
they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry [183]
businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in 178
village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business 871
outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as
in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside 571
the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually 621
shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a 464
position in local government, the educated villager tends to become 554
cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, 871
usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost 554
immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the
student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who 178
happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases 621
do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

871 554 178 example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

621 178 621 622 [423] [123] Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

178 622 627 618 The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

178 621 627 Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

178 621 627 571 602 In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

The situation developed largely when the traditional land 178
tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program be- 621
tween 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation
of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was 627
the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant 423
which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relation- 427
ship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing,* he had with the landlord. The contract 571
for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord 602
and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their
interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed
by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either
party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing.*

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' 621
socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of 622
the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing,* and with 423
it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that
unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of main- 556
taining their high positions in the community, they lost their useful- 178
ness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and 571
leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships be-
tween hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus 178
worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This 618
has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the 627
family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the
village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played
a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin
Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority
has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the
extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home
area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their
ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, [554)
there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a
force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hier- 178
archical relationships between people, however, which has diminished 184
the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the 621
tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and
economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of 627
greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land 558

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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

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The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

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Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

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Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

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It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

12 [101] large the only decisions we will consider which took place before 1900 will be those concerning adoption. Only a very small percentage of our total population reached marriageable age before the turn of the century.

[b21] With the exception of the 20 members of 5 families who came to Taiwan from the mainland of China since World War II, the population of our genealogies includes all of the residents of Hsiachichou in 1960, a total of 72 families with a combined membership of 562 people. It is important to remember, however, that our genealogies do not include all of those people who lived in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. In many cases families who once lived in the village have moved away, and in these cases we do not have the information necessary to include them in our records. Moreover, our information concerning those people we have included is not equally detailed. In some cases we may know a woman's age and sibling order, the form of her marriage, her father's sibling order, and so forth, while in another all we may know is that she was born in Hsiachichou and that she was given away in adoption as a child. The reader should therefore not be surprised to find that the samples which we use to test various hypotheses vary considerably in size. If all we need to know is whether or not a woman was given away in adoption, we can use a much larger sample than if her sibling order is important to the particular test, and if we also need to know her father's sibling order still further cases must be eliminated for lack of necessary information. Finally, the reader should be warned at the outset that the information in our genealogies is not entirely free of error. Since our records were

175 615 genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in
175 621 613 634 Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five _lún_ is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

776 The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the reli-
778 gious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities
634 all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the
621 god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural
hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village
recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes
in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a
new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the
Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the
particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher
rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple
located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's
794 authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The
796 management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-
634 wide compittee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes
the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this
committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men
who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of
inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed
by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four
corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his
776 authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the
634 responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is
comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an
entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

*592 178 356 596 furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single *kê*, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build [621] a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation *592 621 602 of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

178 Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

198 The result of these three concomitant changes has been that
463 Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis
621 of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study
[433] were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village
[114] obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

178 in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart
463 puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as
• 621 pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

* 121 We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a
178 period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional
433 Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will
121 have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended
178 family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses
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*592 remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the
*593 divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals
881 with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

596 As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their
594 married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem
• 621 family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternatiely with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 594 621 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 886 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiù: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiù:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

182 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alter-
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181 natives.

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182] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves,
[621] is economic security. The village of Hisachichou is not impoverished,
[262] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out
[463] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably.
[342] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy
[209] tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number
[216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts
[454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a
[426] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

*597 decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The
*562 only important difference between families was the amount of land
556 owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were
178 still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners
[463] earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as techni-
[434] cians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

*597 Since our information concerning the relative income of the var-
*562 ious families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit
556 a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time,
• 621
178 the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

*597 *562 • 621 556 178 less fortunate neighbors as residents of the decaying Hsiachou. This imbalance of wealth between the two areas is reflected in the adoption rates. Of the 93 girls born into Hsiachou 32 (34 percent) were given out in adoption as compared with only 9 (14 percent) of the 66 girls born into Shangchou. Were our information detailed enough to permit a comparison of individual families, we would undoubtedly find that relative wealth is an even more important variable, but gross as it is, even this comparison clearly makes the point that her family's ability to raise her has become an important determinant of a girl's chance of remaining in her natal home.

*597 *562 *592 178 556 621 We must therefore take into account two sets of factors rather than one in order to calculate the likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption in the post-1930 period. We must consider the composition of the family into which she was born, and we must also take into account the relative economic status of her natal family. When both sets of factors are considered a clear pattern of adoption emerges, with girls born into some situations being much more likely to become adopted daughters than girls born under other circumstances. The daughters of wealthy families who are born before the family has either sons or daughters are almost never given in adoption, and those born into families with both male and female children are only occasionally given in adoption. Of 39 girls born in Shangchou to families of the first type only 2 (5 percent) were given in adoption, and of 24 girls born into Shangchou families of the second type only 5 (21 percent) were given in adoption. The composition of the family into which a girl

*597 is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most
*592 of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring
*562
178 regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case
556 of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand,
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the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

*597 We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised
*562 at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living
*592 in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends
182 primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and
social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

*121 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise
*583 manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relation-
*597 182 ship within the *kê* is one of the considerations which enters into the
511 choice between the preferred form of marriage and the *sīm-pûà* marriage.
Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the relative degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that economic considerations are an important determinant of human action, we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity, both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions de-
*583 •621 rives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage
182 may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance
554 between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a
626 community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou, the event is something more than a public act; it is a public performance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family must always consider what the community is going to say about their decision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

*121 prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment?
*583 The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice
• 621 between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûà form of marriage. The
182
554 sīm-pûà marriage is economically and structurally the more advantage-
626 ous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it
may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred
marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

*121 If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover
*583 why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One
554 reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity
183
182 for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way
*121 to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard
*583 for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect
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183 by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûà marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

*121 182 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

*121 182 *583 *592 • 621 602 [606] Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the *sīm-pûà* form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

*121 182 *583 *592 • 621 602

seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the kê. Contrary to the *assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would* seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

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The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the kê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

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*596 simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are
613 devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and
124 grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is
*596 comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for
613 these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five
• 621 branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches
[634] living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation
has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within
each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the
Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of
kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years
when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected
together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider
building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of
additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a
new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to
create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames
were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the
Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or
another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred
too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to
challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has
lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders
in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers."
[609] A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory
practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when
he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative
while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of
how many trusted friends cross his path.

175 With each new colonial administration or reform movement on
613 Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different
634 administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the
area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable
[651] that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will
impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization
and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have
historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas
that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware 175
of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is 613
apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims,
the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not 634
exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more
closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned,
nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district,
regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported [778]
by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by [794]
the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's [783]
turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed
of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of [776]
Peihotien village. [789]

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal 634
point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers 778
spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the 776
temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication.
Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much 794
the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular 796
districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried [778]
through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The
sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along
the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers
and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple
where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti
Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable
daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not [782]
obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and
handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district 776
of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, 778
the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a
magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small 621 •
stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks
Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary.
He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes 776
decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed
and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural
bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

776 death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business
establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches
over the village farmers.

361 Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien.
178 The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of
[161] narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything
so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built
new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying
trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few
houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes
scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children
361 that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of
13 the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a
variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled,
long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless,
fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds.
[161] Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an
unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use
[249] of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to
their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape.
Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry
the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems
more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of
Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a
pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion
of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's
178 location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value.
• 621 The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of
505 the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by
433 poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their
families by transporting goods between the remote villages and
Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended
upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became
178 too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable
621 transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage
433 of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the
river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less
496 than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu
and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let 825
them because he thinks it's his son." 775

The children have heard this story many times but it no more [857]
prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree
than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when
their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the 628
significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick
buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on
Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a
paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's
chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the
boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby
village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same [857]
school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village
mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A
farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers
from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new
directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market
prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a
mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults 461
may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the 621 ●
day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and [262]
retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied.
A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and [312]
two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few [855]
clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty [252]
child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who [356]
live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often [246]
gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out
some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it [857]
a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the
river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the 444
three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a 517
practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in [438]
which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet
paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family [883]

* 596 * 159 764 [435] Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

*596 *159 • 621 554 Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and [867] to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more 596* open. Because of his position in the *lo mua*, he was able to round up 159* gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that 548 he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his 621 wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue- [554] lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still 596* unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his 159* parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to 593* arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good 584 match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, 596* Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his 159* knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and 593* forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made 584 that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the __li__ of which Sanlei is a part,
[621]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46

contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

776 installed in a small temple. They also brought an earth
778 god statue (T'u Ti Kung) which was established in another very small temple. Both temples have remained important in the village through to the present. About 30 years after the settlement was established, a large temple was built. It was destroyed in a 1943 typhoon and rebuilt after World War II.

621 The original settlers constituted a corporate
[423] group who cleared and cultivated the land in shares. Some years passed before the jointly-owned land was divided among the 18 share holders. In essence, the community constituted a single surname village, not unlike the description furnished for many communities in Southeast China where it may be considered to have originated (Freedman, 1958). No other village in the li was a single surname village. Moreover, it appears that the settlers in other Talei villages came from a variety of villages in Mainland China rather than one. Sanlei has always maintained a higher level of integration and cooperation than surrounding villages. Although almost all early settlers were surnamed Liao, they were not all able to specify their degree or details of relationship. The story of the eighteen shareholders and the problems they encountered are widely known to villagers although there is some dispute over minor details. Anyone who has lived in the village a year or two will be able to repeat the

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until 579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma. [582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

648
579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested,
the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien.
This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief
that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from
the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the
real differences are probably not great. That is, the
differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan
as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater
than the differences between the latter and the people
from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and
rural types are probably considerable in any location.
However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated
behavior, subjective reality may be more important than
objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified
as different groups. Each is an "in group"
and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally
feel that the present government is controlled by
"outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire *li* has prospered
during the last twenty years subsequent to the return
[433] of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques
have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and
providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and
fertilizer.

621 [433] [464] [571] [871] fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. The *li* now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 648 As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in *li* politics or *li* religious affairs. The children do not even attend the *li* school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 648 [499] [653] To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

• 621 Individual villagers are combined into chia
592 (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 Although not listed in the official government
602 records, a number of chia in the village are combined into
613 several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

621 536 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un although there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 613 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao man in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin
chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[666] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

632 unit. The various *lin chang* assist the *li chang* in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this structure are the superordinate government levels such as township, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant units for most residents, the *ts'un* (village). As a unit of the official government, it has few functions, serving only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a postal address. However, the village appears to be a prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese. In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which *ts'un*. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that *li* be approximately equal in size, large villages are divided into two or more *li*; medium-sized villages constitute a *li*; and small villages are combined to form a single *li*. Talei Li is an example of the last process, a combination of five *ts'un*.

66 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the *li* is united as part of a minority faction. Within the *li*, there are two contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships. One pair of factions is regionally based, T'oulei and Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

# CHAPTER III

## THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
621 farming community. Although there are other significant
sources contributing to community income, a vast majority
of the households earn all or a significant segment of
their income from agricultural activities. Only five of
the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in
agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges,
and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood
production is for family consumption within the village,
the major share of the four products is produced for the
market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the
market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain
extra-village social relationships.

### Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of San-
lei has been classified and graded by the government. The

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27
families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who
had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers
draw means for their sustenance locally and from the
surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and
cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural
products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not
only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many
different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village
as previously discussed, in an average day about
three to five. About once every month or two a traveling
sales show comes through and stays one night in either
Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as
long as people keep buying medicine.

● 621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For
example, all farm implements and all cloth among other
items must be purchased. For some goods and services,
the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician.
The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
• 621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it
is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in
Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

178
423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of
investment.

621 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its
members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
461 ating in terms of a technological system which required
464 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
182
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain indi-
viduals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
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464

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a
major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds
$250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put
them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They
ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders
who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery
tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries
have ceased but he continues to drink.

[388] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demar-
cated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is
nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point
out a few families who are somewhat richer than average
and several families which are very poor but usually

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general
village population are those which do not have a vigorous
adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting
the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in
the village. As previously described, poor people are
often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes.
There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods
and services as illustrated by the previously discussed
case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both
village stores charge less than the normal price and often
put items on a charge account with no expectation they
will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with
regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to
grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not
own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one
in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who
pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
[578] labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to
help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor
grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft
of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was
probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
556 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone
who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an
avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items
in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them.
Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no
longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of
his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there
is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch
is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's
financial condition is well known, few people other than
the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation.
Those who benefit most from these customs are usually
widows or old men who have never married.

511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village.
Although some people are much better off than others, the
differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
[820] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation
when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it
appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods
than ever before in history for although prices are high-
[735] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
[574] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the
reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621
[735] everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
[504] development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[464] offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
that wants to work can earn a living.

## CHAPTER IV

## FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

128 621 571 602 182 The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent, and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

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621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

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562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

562 666 183 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

## Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the *lin* or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each *lin* contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households. 624 Each *lin* has a *lin chang* (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a *lin chang* may be held responsible for what happens in his *lin*, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village *lin chang* once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his *lin*. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the *li* which has three officers: the *li chang* (*li* head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin [562] Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for
632
621 land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li

628 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
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621 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li, T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.
[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.

628 665 • 621 The ideological differences between these factions may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 621 628 632 665 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because the major rivalry is focused between these two villages which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

121
• 621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
621
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the *li* which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the *li* will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the *li*, then the second must be from the other. At the formal *li* level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two *pao* were combined into one *li*, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei *pao* had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other *pao*. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

474 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost
666 everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each
should be represented even if one does not have sufficient
votes to insure election. This may be partially related
to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule.
558 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too
621 embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but
476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the _li chang_ would know the truth about the whole community and the various _lin chang_ or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

183 476 621 626 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas actually, there are many violations of the underlying principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

474 245 [179] Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily marketing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the 591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966, 162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

## Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended [183] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. [62] There are eight extended families in Sanlei, 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

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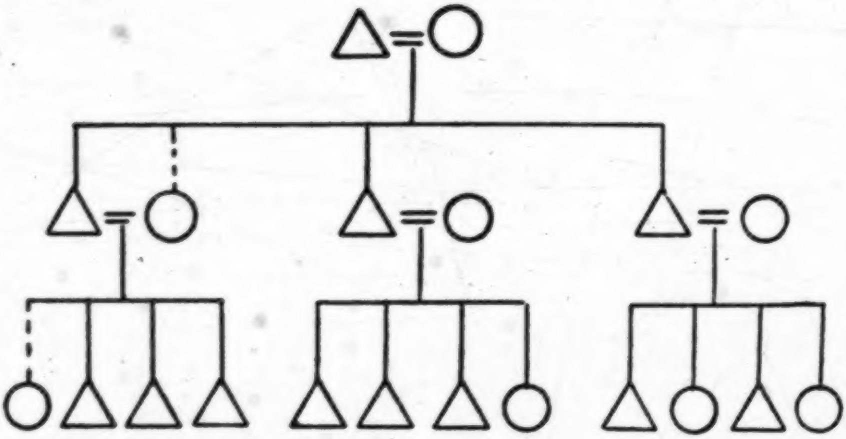

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu *Chia*.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, *ta chia t'ing* (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

| Type | Families |  | People |  | Size |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | Mean | Median |
| Extended | 8 | 12.1 | 81 | 19.8 | 8.1 | 8.5 |
| Stem | 25 | 37.9 | 166 | 40.6 | 6.6 | 7.0 |
| Nuclear | 33 | 50.0 | 162 | 39.6 | 4.9 | 5.0 |
| TOTAL | 66 | 100.0 | 409 | 100.0 | 6.2 | 6.0 |

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size [621] from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households 594 621 which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

594 621 the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

178 59 621 Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

121 178 59 One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

121 178 59 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies to achieve goals.

## Family Surnames

551 621 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

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• 621
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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

| Surname | Number of Individuals* | Number of Chia Chang** |
|---|---|---|
| Liao | 180 | 36 |
| Chang | 34 | 5 |
| Huang | 29 | 2 |
| Chien | 23 | 4 |
| Yu | 22 | 2 |
| Chiu | 18 | 3 |
| Wu | 14 | 1 |
| Lin | 13 | 4 |
| Ch'en | 11 | 2 |
| Hsu | 10 | 2 |
| Wang | 7 | 1 |
| Hsieh | 7 | - |
| Kao | 5 | 1 |
| Yuan | 5 | - |
| Chou | 4 | - |
| Chuang | 2 | 1 |
| Shih | 1 | 1 |
| Chiang | 1 | 1 |
| 12 Other Names | 23*** | - |
| TOTAL | 409 | 66 |

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

## Chia Chang

592 The *chia chang*, head of the family or household. constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always [886] coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 888 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 562 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

[621]

592 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the
562 arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural
position of women is not inferior to men to the degree
suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher
than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay
for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and
also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned
Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In
the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband
or son is the practical or effective head. In the re-
maining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman
as the effective head by inviting her participation as the
family representative in such affairs as village meetings,
the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In
six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be
[624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our
stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in
charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire
Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband
at home.[8]

592 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the
621 means by which they entered the village are indicative of
591 the nature of village history with its emphasis on contin-
uity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were
adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that
nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their de-
591 scendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the fol-
621 lowing is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 50 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight
621 from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As pre-
166 viously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Szulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

5

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the mountain
592 areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of
electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 621 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei population.

## Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing
the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit
in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female,
the most common means for adding members is through reproduction.
This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will
not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
592 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children.
Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with
the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members
may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance
with the sex of the individual added and also at the
stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage process
592 is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
592 must be registered in the official records. If the change
is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

769 Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

• 621
769 A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

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594
[621] Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 861 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could iden[illegible] a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily 596 identify which family within it. Also, although women • [621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. [461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 462 578 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the break up of compounds and the division of extended families is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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525

562 independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

525 Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei
575 and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

525 With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending
621 clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and
562
575 females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate
[593] competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

573 A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship
561 group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a concrete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of the valley (See Figure 2).

361
a 621 The "above the water" section contains the original village settlement and continues to be the dominant section in village affairs. Most of its chia chang (family heads) are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao are related to a Liao; two are related by marriage and the third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Important individuals in this section include the Li Chang (mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers' association). This section also includes the village temple and the store which has the largest sales in the village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The *chia chang* in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964
621 653 to establish a central water system which required building
666 a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each
365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the
621 dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located
653
666 across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao
965 who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood.
The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

621 These two neighborhoods became factions which were
665 mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

621 665 water tower. Normally, there is little competition between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally identified with a single neighborhood. 621 574 The neighborhoods do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

## Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

346 burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside,
353 directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are
[332] [776] three large niches in the wall, each of which contains
from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are
flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see
Chapter VII for further details).

778 The temple is open from early in the morning until
857 late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by
794 children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy
days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast,
778 they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three
[517] men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the
778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess
524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers.
794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game,
but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being
politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral.
Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it
appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole
794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in
778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening,
[517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on
[434] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and
discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[421] The temple belongs to the entire village: each
resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident
is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

794 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged
632 for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind
• 621 of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions,
632 celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In
this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple; the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

794 621 632 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the *li* temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the *li* temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the *li* to cooperate.

796 794 632 628 For many years Talei Li and another *li* jointly participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major temples located in each *li*. After some time passed, since the other *li* was much larger, two festivals were held at that *li* to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

796 794 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally
632 sprinkled with "we" and "they."
628

## The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

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•621 In a discussion of the significance of ancestral
182 hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman
794 (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural
[171] features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost
all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been *somewhat* ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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• 621 village. especially in light of the fact that long-estab-
794 lished lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

## Women's Work Groups

462 There are various work activities performed by
476 women: some as a member of a team, some individually but
in the company of others, and some as isolates working
alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same
561 membership for many years. In general, most work groups
are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period
of a few years.

462 Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There
296 are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at
476 the previously described artificial pond and the other two
in the river, one close and convenient to the village
center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow
bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the
afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor.
Each woman is responsible for her own washing although
occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into
the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person
does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability
as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her
wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for
conversation, and although the women themselves are not
consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there
are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

121 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described
771 sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple
and major religious events also support relationships with
other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many
aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the
village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside
and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure
778 in the village. This building is the social center of the
621 village for in addition to its religious functions, it is
a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for
children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with
the temple. The temple is important for the performance of
religious rites but not as important as the home, at least
on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered
to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as
a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically
and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher
than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple
778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of
[796] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of
the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events.
[782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple
gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily.

782 one individual performs the act while others observe.
592 There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during
[869] the study when there are joint performances: a teaching
[764] situation with an older individual and a child perform-
[793] ing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

[621] On the community level, there is worship for the
various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice
is offered separately and returned to be consumed sepa-
527 rately. There are often parties with guests present on
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574 special days but even then the food is kept separate in
each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

783 796 776 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 796 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Ceremony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 796 573 621 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
and started the whole process because of a ceremony he
attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six *lin*, but one assistant from each of the
[789] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the *shen pei*.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the *li* temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
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796 too close to the *li* Fire Purification Ceremony, and during

783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
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621 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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783 796 621 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from outside the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 796 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[866] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
783 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the *li* level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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121 871 621 882 276 178 Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

178 871 562 The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years. [212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not